DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 058 391 VT 013 761

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TITLE Review and Synthesis of Research on Vocational Education for the Urban Disadvantaged.
INSTITUTION Ohio State Univ., Columbus. Center for Vocational and Technical Education.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Educational Research and Development (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO Inf-Ser-50
PUB DATE Nov 71
NOTE 53p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Disadvantaged Groups; Educational Needs; *Educational Programs; Individual Characteristics; Program Development; Program Evaluation; Research Needs; *Research Reviews (Publications); *Urban Environment; *Vocational Education

ABSTRACT

Researchers and practitioners should find this publication useful in identifying substantive problems, methodological approaches, and research findings applicable to education programs for the disadvantaged. Major sections of the document include: (1) Historical Perspective of Vocational Education For the Disadvantaged, (2) Rationale For and Characteristics of the Disadvantaged, (3) Research on Vocational Education Programs for the Disadvantaged, (4) Evaluation and Discussion of the Research Effort Related to the Disadvantaged, and (5) Important Considerations in Developing and Operating Vocational Education Programs for the Disadvantaged. It was noted that there is a critical lack of research relating vocational education to the disadvantaged. (JS)

Information
Series No. 50
VT 013 761

ED 005391

review and synthesis of research on

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED

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REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED

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1900 Kenny Road Columbus, Ohio 43210

November, 1971

The material in this publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

PREFACE

Legislation and societal concern have given focus and special emphasis to meeting the needs of the disadvantaged portion of the population. The research concerned with vocational education for the urban disadvantaged generally relates to characteristics of the disadvantaged, public school vocational education programs, out-of-school skill training programs, and teacher education and ancillary personnel. This publication should assist in identifying substantive problems and methodological approaches for researchers concerned with this important topic. It should also be useful to practitioners interested in reviewing research findings which have application to educational programs.

This review is intended to be an authoritative analysis of the literature in the field. Related Center publications on the same topic are available for school administrators and for teachers of vocational education. Those who wish to examine the primary sources of information should utilize the bibliography in this publication. Where ERIC document numbers are cited, the documents are available in microfiche and hard copy forms.

The profession is indebted to Rutherford Lockette and Lawrence Davenport for their scholarship in the preparation of this report. Recognition is also due Martin Hamburger, New York University, New York, and Henry Otto, University of Texas, Austin, for their critical review of the manuscript prior to its final revision and publication. J. David McCracken, information specialist at The Center, coordinated the publication's development.

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REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

Evaluations of vocational education programs have been made many times; in each instance, they have been supported by increased federal appropriations. The fact that state and local governments have given their seal of approval to vocational education can be noted through their increased financial support. This support for vocational education can be illustrated by noting that "...Federal financing grew 125 percent during the 20-year period from 1940 to 1960 while the local and state financing grew 452 percent" (Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, 1963).

On February 20, 1961, President John F. Kennedy sent a message to Congress in which he said:

> The National Vocational Education Acts, first enacted by the Congress in 1917 and subsequently amended, have provided a program of training for industry, agriculture, and other occupational areas. The basic purpose of our vocational education effort is sound and sufficiently broad to provide a basis for meeting future needs. However, the technological changes which have occurred in all occupations call for a review and reevaluation of these acts, with a view toward their modernization.
>
> To that end, I am requesting the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to convene an advisory body drawn from the educational profession, labor, industry, and agriculture, as well as the lay public, together with representatives from the Departments of Agriculture and Labor, to be charged with the responsibility of reviewing and evaluating the current National Vocational Acts, and making recommendations for improving and redirecting the program.

The final report of the panel not only concerns itself with the efficiency with which existing programs of vocational education operate but also with the extent to which they serve the needs of the people who need and can profit from these programs. Three out of every 10 students currently enrolled in elementary school will not finish high school. Of the seven youths who will finish high school, three will not go to college. Only two of the four who enter college will graduate. "Thus, eight out of 10 youngsters in the elementary schools who have a need for vocational education are a major concern of this report" (Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, 1963).

During the 1960's an estimated 26 million entered the labor force from this group. They accounted for 90 percent of the growth in the labor market. If these individuals had been afforded an opportunity to prepare themselves adequately for the changing world of work, there would have been little question that they would have been successful. The fact that vocational education has recognized this as a responsibility is noted in the Panel of Consultants' Report.

It is stated that only five percent of the vocational program graduates were unemployed in 1959 as contrasted with 15 percent of all high school graduates of the United States. Approximately seven out of 10 vocational education graduates available for employment actually enter an occupation for which they are trained.

The earnings of vocational education graduates are, as would be expected, relative to the length and level of sophistication of their training. Graduates of trade and industrial programs earned $2,954 in 1960. Those who completed a two-year industrial technical course as part of their high school education earned $3,990 in 1961 while those who completed a two-year post-high school technical education program earned $4,600 in that same year.

These and other facts reported attest to the worth of vocational education in the total educational system. However, problems associated with extending programs of vocational education to meet individual and group needs as well as problems of altering the offering of vocational education to meet technological advances are indeed thorny ones. Statistical information contained in the report will substantiate this.

Of the students who were between 15 and 19 years of age, only two percent were preparing for employment in trade and industrial occupations, although approximately 31 percent of the labor force was composed of craftsmen, foremen, operative and kindred workers during the period, 1959-1960.

Of the total secondary school population, 16.7 percent were enrolled in federally reimbursed vocational programs and only 2.2 percent were enrolled in trade and industrial programs in 1962. Of the group enrolled in federally reimbursed vocational programs, only 13.1 percent were enrolled in trade and industrial programs while 31 percent of the labor force was employed in similar occupations. From these data, it is clear that if trade and industrial programs are to make adequate provisions for meeting individual needs as well as meeting the demands of industry, greater numbers of workers will have to be trained.

Actually, a study of the availability of vocational education showed that only 352 out of 3,733 of the public schools studied in the North Atlantic Region offered trade and industrial programs. Stated differently, only 9.4 percent of these public schools offered trade and industrial programs.

In addition, it was found that vocational education programs were not equally available within the states and there was a discrepancy of offerings among the states. In numerous instances where vocational programs were offered, school enrollments did not warrant the establishment of programs which would be required to meet individual needs. This was particularly true when we consider aptitudes and interests as factors of vocational choice.

> Youth in the small towns have relatively little opportunity to get preparatory training for industrial occupations, and where they do have some opportunity their choices are greatly restricted. The rural high schools have paid little attention to training for the

large number of youth who must migrate to urban areas to obtain employment and have concentrated their efforts on agricultural and home economics programs.

The Congress was guided very closely by the recommendation of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education to: make vocational education available to all who need and can profit from it; and broaden vocational offerings to make them more representative of the existing and future occupations available to youth and adults.

With this in mind, for the first time since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the Congress reoriented the philosophy of vocational education legislation. With the growing awareness of and concern for human welfare, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 placed major emphasis

> ...upon the people who needed skills rather than upon the occupations which needed skilled people. In the place of the previous focus on seven occupational categories as the boundaries of federally supported vocational education, the dimensions of the new act were the employment oriented educational needs of various population groups (Vocational Education Advisory Council, 1968).

Because of the difficulties envisioned in reorienting vocational educational institutions to fulfill this new role, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 wisely established a Vocational Education Advisory Council to appraise the results of the reorientation of vocational education recommended in the legislation.

The Vocational Education Advisory Council (1968) noted that one of the problems in assessing the results of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 related to the fact that sufficient time had not passed to permit the law to be fully implemented. However, they noted that:

> The Vocational Education Act of 1963 introduced two new basic purposes into the Nation's vocational education system: First, vocational education was to serve the occupational needs of all people in the community through unified programs rather than to train them in separate programs of selected occupational categories. Secondly, a new group was to be served: The persons who could not succeed in a regular vocational program because of educational, socioeconomic, and other obstacles. There is little evidence that either of these major purposes has been accomplished so far.
>
> The second main objective, to serve youths with special needs, has hardly been touched.

Based on these findings, the Vocational Education Advisory Council (1968) noted that:

> It is recommended that funds and permanent authority be provided to develop and operate new and expanded vocational education programs and services specifically designed for persons who have academic, social, economic, or other handicaps.

It was, therefore, upon the recommendation of the Vocational Education Advisory Council that the Congress earmarked 15 percent of all funds appropriated to each state for programs to serve persons who have academic, social, economic, or other handicaps.

Legislation for Vocational Education for the Disadvantaged

While vocational educators have been working with the urban disadvantaged since the initiation of vocational education assistance through the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, it was not until 1963 that the problems of students with special needs received recognition in federal vocational education legislation.

Vocational Education Act of 1963

Congress included in the new Vocational Education Act of 1963 a provision encouraging the expenditure of funds on programs for students with special needs or others "who have academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in the regular vocational education program."

This initial inclusion of the disadvantaged in federal vocational education legislation was not mandatory. States could spend, though they were not required to spend, money for students with special needs. While the legislation was effective in bringing national recognition to the problems faced by certain socioeconomic groups, it did little to help those groups, financially or programmatically. Less than three percent of federal vocational education funds were channeled into programs to serve students with academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps (Annual Reports of the Bureau of Adult-Vocational and Technical Education, 1963-1968).

Five years passed before the House Committee on Education and Labor began hearings on Amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963. During those five years, several significant events took place which made it impossible to continue to ignore or only nominally treat the special needs of the disadvantaged. The poverty program and the Office of Economic Opportunity had come into existence and had awakened the country to an awareness that enclaves of genuine need existed. The civil rights movement had reached fruition and had seen federal legislation enacted to protect the rights of minority groups. Urban riots had plagued the nation's cities and had told of the unequal opportunities being afforded many of the country's citizens.

During the 1968 House Hearings, the Congress discussed these events and identified vocational education as one of the most effective ways of providing economic and educational mobility to meet the needs they symbolized. At the same time, the Congress was critical of vocational education for not providing for disadvantaged and other students who did not fit into the regular system. The hearings resulted in the enactment of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, legislation which for the

first time included the term "disadvantaged" and a special provision mandating that 15 percent of federal vocational education funds be spent on meeting the needs of disadvantaged persons.

Vocational Education Amendments of 1968

In the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, the Congress continued the pattern established by the 1963 legislation and defined disadvantaged, not according to ethnic group or socioeconomic status, but according to the ability to succeed in the mainstream vocational educa-education programs. As stated in the Rules and Regulations of the Amendments, the term "disadvantaged persons" means:

> Persons who have academic, socioeconomic, cultural, or other poverty, neglect, delinquency or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large, but does not include physically or mentally handicapped persons...unless such persons also suffer from the handicaps described in this paragraph.

In prescribing the way funds could be spent for the disadvantaged, the legislation made it clear that wherever possible, the goal should be to enroll disadvantaged students in regular vocational education programs and to meet their special needs without creating a separate system of education for them. To accomplish this, the Congress provided that funds could be used to modify regular programs to make them suitable for disadvantaged students and to establish:

> ...special educational programs and services designed to enable disadvantaged or handicapped persons to achieve vocational education objectives that would otherwise be beyond their reach as a result of their handicapping condition (Section 102.6, Vocational Education Amendments of 1968).

In addition to these provisions designed to serve the disadvantaged in terms of the curriculum, the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 require that the State and National Advisory Councils on Vocational Education include a representative from the disadvantaged or a person familiar with the problems of the disadvantaged.

Efforts Under Vocational Education Act of 1968

In response to the mandate of the 1968 legislation, the Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Bureau of Adult-Vocational and Technical Education (BAVTE) U.S. Office of Education, has carried out or considered a number of special services for disadvantaged students in addition to those provided regular vocational education students. These include: (SURGE 1970)

1. Surveys to determine employment opportunities for disadvantaged youth and adults and to identify disadvantaged persons;

2. recruitment and promotional programs to reach the disadvantaged;
3. scheduling modifications to assist disadvantaged students, including: individual scheduling; extended school day, week or year; individual instruction; and flexible requirements to permit a student to leave a program whenever he is prepared to pursue his education or obtain employment;
4. formation of an Advisory Committee on the Disadvantaged;
5. curriculum development to modify programs, including: use of special instructional materials for the disadvantaged; work orientation and personal development courses; and demonstration projects and evaluation of programs;
6. hiring of personnel with special skills in dealing with disadvantaged persons, including: psychologist; reading specialist and/or interpreters; remedial education specialist; program developers and instructional aides; job placement and development coordinators; specially trained guidance counselors; and social workers;
7. new emphasis on family counseling, psychological service, bilingual and bicultural orientation;
8. coordination of work experience or work-study programs requiring the cooperation of business and industry.

Effect of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968

The results of these and other programs stemming from the emphasis on the disadvantaged in the 1968 legislation are not clearly known. This is due in part to the fact that the Amendments received late funding, and in part to the drastic lack of hard data on vocational education in general. Numerically, the number of disadvantaged students in vocational education programs in fiscal 1970 was 805,384, or slightly more than nine percent of the post-secondary vocational education enrollment as reported by the U.S. Office of Education (1971).

At the same time, lower socioeconomic groups comprised approximately 20.5 percent of the secondary vocational education enrollment and 12.3 percent of the post-secondary vocational education enrollment (U.S. Office of Education, 1970). These figures approximately parallel the occurrence of disadvantaged and minority groups in society as a whole and do not necessarily indicate an "over-representation" of these groups in vocational education programs. The same can be said in terms of economic breakdowns. The majority of vocational education students in 1969-70 came from families with annual incomes between $3,000-$10,000 (U.S. Office of Education, 1970). While this shows a predominance of low and middle income students, it does not indicate that their occurrence in vocational education programs is disproportionate to their their occurrence in society as a whole.

At first glance, these figures would seem to indicate that the emphasis on the disadvantaged in the Vocational Education Amendments of

1968 has had little impact. The fact is, however, that these figures represent a substantial increase in the number of disadvantaged students enrolled in vocational education programs. In 1965, for example, disadvantaged students comprised only five-tenths percent of the vocational education enrollment (U.S. Office of Education, 1965). In 1967, the figure was only 2.3 percent (U.S. Office of Education, 1967). In short, it was not until after the enactment of the 1968 Amendments that disadvantaged students were represented in vocational education in proportions nearly equal to their representation in the general population.

In fairness, it should be noted that many disadvantaged students enrolled in vocational education prior to 1968 were not counted as such because under the 1963 legislation, there was no requirement to identify students according to their ability to succeed in regular vocational programs. The 1970 figures, therefore, may reflect not only a genuine numerical increase in enrollment of disadvantaged students due to the 1968 legislation, but also a new emphasis on identifying these students and their special needs.

The U.S. Office of Education (1970) shows that the growth in enrollment of disadvantaged students has been paralleled by an increase in the number of teachers trained to serve students with special needs. In 1965, there were 1,273 part- and full-time teachers and in 1970 there were 14,985 part- and full-time teachers. This growth represents an increase of over 1,100 percent. While this growth reflects a trend begun earlier in the decade, the greatest increase occurred after implementation of the 1968 legislation and can be largely attributed to this legislation.

The success or failure of the disadvantaged students enrolled in vocational education since the enactment of the 1968 Amendments, or the quality of the services designed to meet their special needs, is more difficult to measure. General observations indicate that while many programs have had real impact, on the whole, the Vocational Education Amendments have served primarily as a training ground for both teachers and students. Through other legislation, educators have progressed from the point of merely recognizing the special recruitment, curriculum, counseling and placement needs of the disadvantaged to the point of developing concrete methods of attacking these problems. Perhaps of greatest significance is that the three-year experience under the Amendments has resulted in a new awareness that skill training for the disadvantaged is not enough and that other special and supportive services must be provided. Some of the specific needs brought to light under the Vocational Education Amendments include:

1. Employment services for disadvantaged students must be performed by secondary schools;
2. counseling must be provided for disadvantaged students who have dropped out of school as well as for those who remain within the system;
3. priority must be given to the disadvantaged without separating them from the mainstream of education;

4. parents and communities must be brought into the planning of vocational education programs to make them relevant to the needs of the students;
5. residential schools must be funded for disadvantaged youngsters who cannot learn in their home or neighborhood environments;
6. teachers and counselors must undergo sensitivity training to enable them to understand the special needs of the disadvantaged;
7. additional recruitment programs must be implemented to bring the disadvantaged into vocational education programs; and,
8. work orientation and social behavior courses must be added to the curriculum.

RATIONALE FOR AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

Most of the studies on characteristics of the disadvantaged deal with all disadvantaged persons, rather than only with the urban disadvantaged or only those who would qualify as disadvantaged under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. The studies tend to concentrate on population statistics, income levels and educational levels, with less attention paid to psychological responses. Because of the importance of psychological characteristics to educators developing curricula for the disadvantaged, appropriate works which cover this area as well as the usual demographic and quantitative data merit special attention. Moreover, scholars from other bodies of knowledge, notably the social and behavioral sciences, have contributed most significantly to research on the disadvantaged. This has occurred both within and outside of the field of vocational education. It would not be possible to present a meaningful interpretation of research on the disadvantaged without the inclusion of some of the more general studies.

Educators have devoted a great deal of attention to disadvantaged youth and adults in recent years. American public education is charged with improving the lot of the disadvantaged by aiding the development of their full potential to enable them to become contributing citizens. Vocational education is thought to hold the key to this development. Yet, there are serious social, economic, and political conditions which have affected subcultures in our society and have inhibited individuals who form these subcultures (Clift, 1964). We have become aware that we must effectively educate all of the children of all of the people or we will support them on the relief rolls. Still another factor which encourages educators to become increasingly concerned about disadvantaged youth relates to our national image. The cry for freedom and equality both at home and abroad makes it essential that the United States put its house in order to serve as an example and show that its philosophy can be reduced to practice.

When the term disadvantaged is used, many think immediately of the Negro. However, deprivation should be thought of in social, economic and cultural terms rather than racial terms (Clift, 1964; Havighurst, 1964; Riessman, 1962). Clift notes that more studies focus on the Negro because: more data are available on that group; they are a large minority; their orientation and traditions are American; and formal and informal channels of social mobility are more closed to them.

Havighurst notes that:

> In racial and ethnic terms, these groups are about equally divided between whites and nonwhites. They consist mainly of the following:
>
> 1. Negroes from the South who have migrated recently to the Northern industrial cities.

2. Whites from the South and Southern mountains who have migrated recently to Northern industrial cities.
3. Puerto Ricans who have migrated to a few Northern industrial cities.
4. Mexicans with a rural background who have migrated into the West and Middle West.
5. European immigrants with a rural background, from East and Southern Europe.

Altogether, these groups make up about 15 percent of the United States population. Since they tend to have large families, their children make up as much as 20 percent of the child population. Not all socially disadvantaged children come from these groups, but the great majority do. Not all children in these groups are socially disadvantaged, but the great majority are.

A consideration of the theoretical positions which account for disadvantagement provide a background for developing a rationale for dealing with it. Willie (1964) states that: "Deprivation theory postulates that opportunities or the means of partaking of opportunities are unequally distributed among the youth of a community."

A means of providing youth with the opportunity of partaking of community opportunities will increase their life chances and prevent deprivation. Stated differently, deprivation assumes many forms; therefore, the primary concern should be the extent to which the forms of deprivation which attend living in a complex society diminish the possibilities for self-realization of the persons affected.

Havighurst (1964) believes that disadvantaged youths are victims of predisposing conditions:

1. Their mothers' failure to respond to their questions about themselves and the world. This causes them to abandon their natural impulses to verbalize and gives them few opporutnities to develop verbal skills.
2. Parental neglect of intellectual stimulation—they do not read to their children or encourage them to read or use the library.

Ausubel (1963) believes that disadvantaged youth's rejection of the school is an indication of the load of frustration, confusion, demoralization, resentment and impaired self-confidence which they must bear in order to cope with a curriculum that is too demanding of them and which they do not view as relevant to their needs. He believes that learning theories which are applicable to all youth are equally applicable to disadvantaged learners. He considers as important an improvement in the teaching-learning situation for disadvantaged youth; the development of a readiness for learning and using this as the point of departure; thoroughly learning of tasks before new ones are introduced; and the development of sequential learning through the use of structured materials.

Riessman's (1964) theoretical approach for working with disadvantaged youth relies on taking advantage of the "elements of strength, the positives of their culture." These elements refer to the cognitive style of disadvantaged youth. He notes that a major dimension of this style is slowness; therefore, disadvantaged youth should not be penalized for their slowness in performing intellectual tasks. He considers culturally disadvantaged youth as physical learners and that experiencing, as he learns, is an important characteristic of these youth. These youth are often creative and frequently possess untapped talent. Frequently, they learn at a much slower rate than their peers, who are reared in the mainstream of the culture. The slow paced learner needs attention to his style and curriculum adaptations which will serve his learing style.

Havighurst (1964) and Ausubel (1963) believe that early verbal experience, both oral and written, is the key to the reduction of cultural deprivation and do not support Riessman's theory of cognitive style of the culturally deprived. Havighurst agrees that there is a need to meet the special needs of this group but disagrees that a special learning style must be accommodated.

Limited theoretical bases for a rationale for programs for the culturally deprived make it apparent that those theories and practices applied to other learners are suitable and appropriate to teaching the culturally deprived youth. Programs should accept the learner at his level of instructional needs and build upon prior learning (Johnson, 1964).

Viable educational programs which include materials and procedures geared toward the creation of an excited interest in learning among the disadvantaged are imperative. The teacher, therefore, must become as knowledgeable about the characteristics of the disadvantaged, their psychological responses, and the environmental factors which create and extend disadvantagement as administrators, supervisors, and curriculum developers. To this end, detailed delineation of opinions of selected authorities, who have done considerable work in these areas, is included in the appendix. It is essential that everyone involved in the educational process become fully committed to participation in a crash effort to restore damaged self concept and replace apathy and alienation with vigorous pursuit of learning and desire for full, constructive participation in society.

RESEARCH ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

The review of available literature disclosed a critical shortage of hard data on in-school vocational education programs for the urban disadvantaged. This shortage is particularly acute in such areas as the relationship of characteristics of the disadvantaged to programs, the labor market, curriculum development, job placement and student follow-up. The research which does exist tends to concentrate on local studies of individual projects rather than on regional or national evaluations. Therefore, the validity of making generalizations based on these studies is questionable. Nonetheless, there are several works dealing with school training for disadvantaged youths and programs for adults which provide important basic information.

Public School Vocational Education Programs

Kaufman and Lewis (1968) found that most high school students enter the labor market with no specialized training, and that graduates of vocational education programs have a higher income level and greater employment stability. Findings also showed that less than half of the trainees were placed on jobs for which they had been trained. In addition, a communications gap existed between students and counselors.

The conclusions of the study which are significant to educators interested in planning and implementing programs are as follows:

1. Programs should be developed which are geared to attract large proportions of students who are not presently interested in either vocational or academic programs.
2. Broad general skills and general applications should be employed.
3. An effort should be made to make vocational education a more meaningful experience and the opportunity for observations and familiarization with employment should become a major phase of the program.
4. Guidelines for the vocational education program should be expanded.

Bushnell (1970) through the use of student review sessions set up to evaluate and revise self-instructional programs based on standard vocational education courses, found that these sessions resulted in greater learning than those revised through instructor feedback.

In a preliminary report, the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1969) evaluated eight vocational education programs for disadvantaged students and pointed out several serious problems in current efforts to serve the disadvantaged, most notably, data collection and program design. The report concludes that the most creative vocational education programs for the disadvantaged are those found outside the public school system.

Social, Educational Research and Development, Inc. (1968), whose study focused on the educational achievement, job training, and job placement of disadvantaged youth, selected 30 secondary level programs to study, through on-site visits. Their findings suggest that vocational education is limited in its degree of effectiveness in terms of serving the disadvantaged. This study further points out the critical lack of evaluation data on vocational programs designed to serve the disadvantaged.

Mosler (1967) conducted a study which has general implications for vocational education. Findings suggest that programs working with culturally different children should emphasize the verbal reading skills, and the economic value of holding a job. Of particular significance to educators is the finding that the school as one social unit must integrate with the community, with the aid of businesses and parents.

Suchman (1968) surveyed 6,455 high school students and 400 teachers in eight Pittsburgh schools. The investigation was designed to determine the relationship between low-income status and educational aspirations and plans. It was concluded that:

1. There is a significant relationship between the low-income student's educational aspirations and his class position and identification and pressures from parents, peer influence, society, school and self.
2. The student's perception of his personal characteristics were related to his school experiences.
3. Teachers with middle-class orientation tended to have negative attitudes toward low-income groups.
4. Educational aspirations are significantly affected by family social structure.

Gallington's (1965, 1967) work in identifying potential high school dropouts and in determining factors which lead to their success is supportive of that reported by Suchman.

Kaufman and others (1967) conducted a study designed to assess public vocational secondary school programs to determine the extent to which they were meeting students and community needs. A second objective was to assess the secondary vocational and technical school curriculum in comparison with other secondary school offerings.

The first objective was achieved through an examination of program offerings, organization, physical facilities, and directions of learning in each of the programs selected for study and on-site examination. The second objective was assessed through a follow-up study which considered how well graduates measured up to employment requirements. Interviews were conducted with employers and union officials. Appraisals were made by school officials and supervisors.

Negro graduates of the vocational curriculum were found to come from families with lower incomes.

When compared with whites, Negroes were found to differ in the following ways: their lower incomes, the fathers were more often absent, their fathers were often employed in service or nonspecific skill jobs, and more mothers were engaged in full-time employment. However, Negroes from each of the three secondary school curricula reacted to their school ex-

periences in about the same way as did whites from the same curricula. Negro and white students from the vocational program considered themselves better prepared for the world of work than academic and general curriculum graduates.

Kaufman notes that male Negro students made up a much larger proportion of the general curriculum than whites. School officials often discourage them from pursuing vocational education programs because of what they consider to be the employment outlook for them.

Negro males and females are found in greater proportion in manufacturing and service occupations and generally earn lower wages. However, Negroes who graduate from vocational programs compare favorably with whites.

Kaufman points out that "Negroes can benefit from the vocational curriculum and, given present conditions in society, probably benefit more than from other curricula."

McNamara and Kamen (1967) studied the Neighborhood Youth Corps in-school programs. Responses gathered from over 1200 project officials led to some interesting conclusions:

1. Large urban programs assign participants more effectively to white collar jobs.
2. Staff members provide more supervision in large urban programs.
3. Urban programs provide more counseling services.
4. Eighty-six percent of the respondents stated that the major success factor in keeping disadvantaged youths in school was simply placing a young person in a job for which he was paid.

McNamara (1968) through the use of questionnaires, studied factors of family background and relationships, adult association, influence of school personnel, and general poverty characteristics within the Neighborhood Youth Corps and comparative youth groups. Findings show that 84 percent of both groups had high school graduation as their goal, but of significance is the fact that Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees had better attendance in school than the comparative group.

There was no significant difference in the area of orientation toward school between the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees and their fellow students. An interesting conclusion of the authors was that the attitude and self concept of the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees was improved through involvement in this program. This is because of such features of the program as direct contact with supervisors and work experience.

Another work with implications for vocational education for the urban disadvantaged was conducted by Radin (1967) who found that the school, which is the only avenue of upward mobility is not presently giving students the background in early grades for later educational success. Compensatory programs have yielded varying degrees of success. Radin holds that the educational deficiencies of disadvantaged students can be improved only by addressing attention to a complex of factors. The factors which affect these students exist at the cultural level; the social organiza-

tional level; the primary group level; and the individual level. Radin urges a massive attack on these problems at all levels and notes that they will be expensive but holds that they will produce great dividends in the long run.

Feshbach and others (1967) found that individualized instruction programs working with disadvantaged children who have learning defects can be of assistance in raising levels of academic performance. Feshbach's findings which are important to vocational education and to education in general are that poor attendance and unsustained motivation are reflective of avoidance motivation rather than lack of interest and concern for academic achievement.

Anderson and Niemi (1969) examined the role of education in changing the social and personal characteristics of adult disadvantaged persons. Through a review of the literature, they found that disadvantaged adults have psychological problems, large families, low incomes, poor health, inferior education, poor employment opportunities, and poor chances for an improved future. They noted that because of discrimination practices, this group is forced to develop its own life style. Therefore, programs designed to improve the condition of those studied will be successful to the extent that the study population break away from the established pattern. Anderson and Niemi believe that programs should be initiated which focus on helping disadvantaged adults view education positively, thus overcoming their resistance to such programs.

Out-of-School Skill Training Programs

There is somewhat more information available on out-of-school skill training programs for the urban disadvantaged. Manpower training programs constitute a more complete area of research on the disadvantaged when compared with in-school programs. The majority of the research efforts are local, rather than regional or national studies. Nonetheless, they serve as important sources of information on the types of training programs which have proven most effective in dealing with unemployed, disadvantaged youth and adults. Many of the studies on manpower programs could serve as models for the type of effort needed in the area of public school vocational education programs.

Follow-up studies are important to vocational education in revising courses, assessing programs, encouraging students, and in other helpful ways. Sharar and others (1969) reported a study of a demonstration training program which evaluated the impact of the Training Resources for Youth Project on out of school, out of work, unemployed youngsters between the ages of 17 and 21. Along with providing regular skill training, the project was designed to change attitudes, behavior and other psychological factors which could serve as barriers to employment. The follow-up study shows that 48 percent of those who entered the program were graduated; 45 percent dropped out or were asked to leave; and seven percent left the program for reasons unrelated to the project. Of the 48 percent who graduated, 12 percent went on to college, seven percent entered the armed forces, and four percent were placed in non-training related jobs. The largest group, 76 percent, was placed in jobs related to their training.

Sommerfeld (1969) conducted a follow-up study of over 200 graduates who had received training for a variety of jobs and found that those who had received on-the-job training were relatively highly qualified and 96 percent of them were placed on jobs. They also found that trainees gave on-the-job training low ratings. The problem of graduates being placed in the field for which they were trained is a major concern in vocational education.

Kobernick and Stavros (1966), through the use of interviews with trainee and employer, found that males who have received training were most often not employed in the area for which they were trained. Females were placed in jobs for which they were trained. It is interesting to note, in light of the previous discussion on placement, that Kaufman and Lewis' (1968) findings indicated dissimilar results for their male graduates of in-school programs. The majority of trainees identified the program as a source of assistance in attaining their jobs.

Vermeulen (1968) evaluates the efforts of the Lincoln Skills Center to improve the basic education, vocational skills, and employment opportunities of trainees. An interview schedule, the Stanford Achievement Test, the Fundamental Achievement Series, and skills proficiency ratings were used together with a Michigan Employment Security Commission training form and follow-up forms to obtain data from 156 trainees and 121 graduates. Results show that trainees with initial skills above grade six made large gains during the 12 week basic education course, but that lower level trainees benefited from the vocational programs, although in degrees varying according to the subject matter.

The Opportunities Industrialization Center, as described by Ritter (1970), was observed by the author. The assessment of this program suggests that it presently contains the majority of the elements included in present comprehensive manpower proposals. The length of the discussion presented below suggests that it might serve as a model for both in-school and out-of-school vocational education programs for the disadvantaged.

Washington Institute for Employment and Training (1968) evaluated Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia. It was found that during the first two years of operation, 2,020 persons were enrolled in training and 1,200 were graduated. A follow-up study found that 1,057 persons were placed in jobs with an average increase in income of from $1,872 to $3,996 per year. The study found worthy of note the Center's self-help philosophy and liberal trainee recruitment and selection policy. A major effort is geared to motivating the hard core unemployed and underemployed individuals.

Ritter (1970) places major emphasis on philosophical, sociological, and psychological factors associated with the poor. He believes that it is important for individuals to believe in themselves and that they must believe in others. This calls for a feeling of mutual trust which is built on love. This concept is associated with trainees and staff alike. Ritter stated that:

> I think that until you are able to deal honestly with yourself and with your feelings, your own hangups, your own prob-

lems, it is very difficult to deal with the problems, the hangups, the feelings of others. If there is a person on my staff who really doesn't like white people, if he wants to work for Opportunities Industrialization Center he's got to get rid of that feeling. He's got to deal with his feelings because he can't work with me and have prejudices, he can't work with me and hate white people, and whites can't work for me and hate Black people. What I'm trying to say is that individuals must deal with themselves if they want to work with Opportunities Industrialization Center. They must have within them a kind of love they feel for other people, and make no distinctions whatsoever.

The Opportunities Industrialization Center engages new recruits in orientation sessions which takes a minimum of three days. They are steeped in the philosophy of the Center, given treatment to improve their awareness of self and others, and exposed to occupational opportunities through the Center's programs, as well as industrial and business field trips. After the orientation sessions, trainees enter education courses required for employment. They may or may not have chosen an area of training at that time. When a trainee selects an occupational goal, additional basic education may be indicated. There is no prescribed length of time which a trainee may spend in basic education; this is also true in his skill development which follows. Moreover, a person may enter the center at any point in time and be placed on the job when he has reached the entry level of his occupational choice. The focus is on jobs, employment, and the dignity of the individual.

Other features of the Opportunities Industrialization Center's program which lend to its success are:

1. A strong counseling program which assists individuals in succeeding in the training program. It also assists trainees in meeting personal needs by pointing out provisions which are available to them such as health care, child care, welfare and others, depending on their concerns. Counselors also help trainees understand the proper procedures to be employed, and in some instances, cut out the red tape often associated with these agencies.
2. The Center is rooted in the community and has been from its inception. The fact that Reverend Leon Sullivan and Reverend Ritter met with other ministers and involved them and their congregations at the outset assured meaningful involvement of the group which is served. In addition, the Center has a National Board of Directors, local Board of Directors and craft committees in each vocational area. A number of distinguished and knowledgeable individuals are employed in policy making, determining training needs, developing courses, funding and otherwise attending to the problems of the Center.
3. The Center has established relationships with the business and industrial world and with the Pennsylvania Employment Service. Although the Center often locates jobs, trainees are turned over to

the employment service to be processed. This serves to improve the relationship between the Center and the Employment Service. Similar relationships have been developed with other agencies.

4. The Center has the ability to respond quickly to the labor market. When a particular program is no longer needed it is terminated, when conditions reflect the need for a new program it is initiated.
5. The basic education, counseling service, orientation and other comprehensive services of the Center relate directly to preparing and placing the trainee on the job in the shortest possible time. Moreover the trainee views his experience in that light. Ritter notes that the success which Opportunities Industrialization Center has had in training and placing individuals in Philadelphia has made it much easier to recruit from the community. He believes that the philosophy of the Center together with its community involvement are its most significant assets.

Many of the programs designed to have impact on the disadvantaged show varying outcomes. One of the few national studies on manpower skill training for the disadvantaged was conducted by Main (1966) to assess the impact of Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) institutional programs on income and employment. Using multiple regression analysis, a nationwide representative sample of approximately 1,299 former trainees was compared with a comparable control group of 925 persons who were unemployed at the time the trainees entered the MDTA programs. The results indicated that the MDTA programs helped the trainees obtain more full time employment, but did not result in their securing better hourly wages. Most trainees gave favorable evaluations of their training experiences.

Two-week workshops were held by the Chicago Urban League and others (1967) with emphasis on employment readiness. The workshops dealt with transportation and orientation to the city, grooming, personal hygiene, money management, human relations training and job orientation. The methods used in the program included the client expressing his own experiences, question and answer sessions, role playing, problem solving, discussions and field trips. Determination of growth of the participants was based on their comments about world experiences and on teachers' observations. Of the 831 trainees who completed the program, 48 percent were either employed or enrolled in other training programs. Based on appropriate data, a comparison of those who retained their jobs and of those who did not, showed very little difference, except in the area of high support for their work experience. A study of participating companies showed that companies providing high support had an 82 percent retention rate; the companies showing little or no support retained only 28 percent of the clients employed.

Quinn and others (1970) reported a study which compared the characteristics and experiences of hard core unemployed blacks in the training programs of a large company with a control group of "direct hires." An analysis of the reasons for turnover among the two groups shows that the turnover rate among the trainees was mainly related to attitudinal factors,

including objection to the scheduling of training sessions and militant racial beliefs.

Austin and Sommerfeld (1967) have presented an interesting evaluation of the effect of vocational and basic education on different categories of disadvantaged youth.

An experimental group of 189 trainees at the Muskegon Area Skills Center was compared with 89 non-trainees or early dropouts. Changes in intelligence, basic skill achievement, personality and employment were measured. All indicators showed higher levels of proficiency for the trainees.

Another skill training evaluation has been reported by Gurin (1968). It was a study of the impact of the Chicago Jobs Project, an experimental and demonstration training program, on 1,500 underemployed functional illiterates from the inner city. The project, which lasted from September, 1963 to the Summer of 1964, included basic education, vocational training, and group and individual counseling. Gurin evaluates personal and, to a lesser extent, program factors related to success of the program. His conclusions, based on questionnaires and interviews with 339 trainees, parents, job supervisors and project staff, indicate that trainees respond most enthusiastically to activities which are directly related to employment. In this light, skill training appears to be the single most important component of job training. Basic education and other aspects of the program are most successful when they can be closely related to skill training or employment. One of the major problems facing trainees is job placement. Only a small proportion of the trainees were placed in jobs by the agencies operating the program and more important, the jobs in which the agencies placed trainees were of the same quality as the job trainees found for themselves.

Ferman (1967) through a review of the literature of final reports, progress reports, other materials and selected on-site visits, reviewed and assessed the 55 Experimental and Demonstration (E&D) Youth Projects in operation during the period from 1963 to 1966. This work adds to the knowledge base on the problems of job placement, job development and job creation for disadvantaged youth. His findings, that institutions operating training programs have failed to emphasize job placement, are supported by those of Gurin (1968). Consistant with the findings of Riessman (1968), Ferman (1967) suggests the use of indigenous workers to provide more current information and to aid in establishing rapport between the trainee and the training program. In addition, his recommendation that new jobs for disadvantaged youth must be a result of career development and not just a matter of job placement is in accord with Riessman's (1968) career ladder principle.

Hoerner and Stevenson (1968) measured the effects of post-manpower training counseling on the perception and behavior of 110 former trainees from eight Oklahoma manpower programs. Results, measured in terms of the trainees' job satisfaction scores, employee performance scores, training efficiency, and general employability, showed that counseling did not result in greater job satisfaction or higher employee per-

formance test scores. It did affect significantly, however, the trainee's ability to find and hold meaningful jobs.

While much publicity has been given to private industry training programs for the disadvantaged, a study by Shelley and Company, Inc. (1969) shows that although over 100,000 disadvantaged workers have been hired by private industry, only 10,000 could be identified as receiving special training.

The problem of relating skill training to industry was discussed in the study by Drotning and others (1969) which showed difficulties in relating skill training and private industry in an evaluation of the Jobs, Education and Training Project (JET) in 187 companies in Buffalo. Although the overall investment in the project is deemed successful, questionnaires developed for company personnel indicate that the objectives of the program were often incorrectly perceived and that real problems developed between the trainees and their supervisors and fellow workers. A need for better coordination with other manpower programs is brought out.

In a study by Karnes (1966), comparisons were made between the achievement of a group of 91 subjects from low socioeconomic status homes, who were provided with a two-year vocationally oriented educational program and prevocational counseling, and a matched control group enrolled in a regular educational program without such benefits. Interviews, school records, case studies, psychological tests, and records were sources of data collection. It was found that although there was no significant difference between the two groups in social and emotional adjustment as measured by social maturity, perception of peer acceptance, perceived anxiety, and ability to determine the appropriateness of certain activities and goals, the experimental subjects had significantly better attendance, fewer school dropouts, and made a better vocational adjustment than the control group. Achievement test scores in arithmetic, reading, and spelling showed no significant difference between the two groups in the amount gained. Findings showed that: 1) the administrative and teaching staff should be specially trained; 2) there should be no more than 20 students per teacher; and 3) the curriculum should be functional and individualized as well as vocationally oriented.

A follow-up of an experimental training program conducted by the Michigan Catholic Conference has been done by Angeles Buenaventura (1967). The training program was designed to show that persons with little formal education and/or limited command of English could be successfully prepared for occupations where a local labor market demand existed. The enrollees in the training program included former migrants of Spanish-speaking background and other disadvantaged persons, both Negro and white. Post-training follow-up interviews indicated that the participants were effectively trained in basic education, vocational skills and cultural orientation, resulting in a successful placement rate of 85 percent after three months. The second goal of the project—to effect institutional change in public agencies serving the disadvantaged—was not considered successful.

An interesting study done by Miller (1968) summarizes the evaluation results of a three-year demonstration program to provide guidance for non-

college-bound high school seniors, unemployed graduates and dropouts in 12 southern Illinois counties. Results show that the project had a positive effect on the development of leadership in the participating schools, as well as in schools in other counties. The effects of the program on the students, however, could not be measured in quantitative terms.

A project designed to show that hard core, multi-problem families can be motivated to enter and complete retraining, work experience and skill training programs was instituted by Work Training Program, Inc. (1967). One of the interesting results of the three-year experience of the Santa Barbara Work Training Program is that basic education and counseling were often enough to prepare trainees for employment, making extensive vocational skill training unnecessary.

Changes in social and educational behavioral patterns of high school dropouts with delinquent records were attempted by strengthening behavior associated with remedial academic subjects, work preparation and social conduct, in a study by Jeffery (1967). There were 163 Negro youths who were active at sometime during the program, but only 42 were actively participating at the close of the program. The participants were encouraged to take part in the project with offers of food and refreshments and rewards for successful completion of educational and occupational tasks.

The results of the project revealed that there was very little gained in areas of employment and job training. Also delinquency and antisocial behavior showed no appreciable change. "Beating the system" was the primary interest of the participants. It was concluded that delinquency, under-education, and unemployment are related along with other factors, and changing or placing emphasis on one fac r will not necessarily show a change in another.

Stevenson (1967) compared an on-the-job training program with a vocational education program serving the same target population and found that one of the major problems was that trainees did not become regular employees at their training sites; however, 77 percent of the first group and 80 percent of the second group were employed at the end of the programs as compared with 42 percent and 47 percent employed at the beginnings of the programs respectively.

National League of Cities (1968) conducted a four-day workshop involving 42 leaders of local governments and school systems from 15 cities that had submitted Model Cities Grant applications. The workshop focused on new programs and approaches that may be employed by city and school administrators in planning, initiating, and coordinating comprehensive neighborhood manpower and education programs for the disadvantaged. Although no absolute formula for success was uncovered, recognizing that experimentation, collaboration and compromise are essential, researchers developed a set of guidelines for cities, including:

1. Encouragement of citizen participation in planning and initiating programs;
2. Cooperation between local governments, schools and other facets of the community;

3. The advocation of the Model Cities approach as the best example of the necessary steps to be followed in solving the urban dilemma.

Teacher-Training and Ancillary Personnel

Despite the substantial increase in the number of teachers and other vocational education personnel trained to serve the disadvantaged, very little research has been done in this area. Few evaluative studies exist on training methods or techniques and little empirical research has been done to determine whether specially trained teachers are more qualified to serve the disadvantaged than teachers without such training. The few works which do exist are the results of institutes and seminars for teachers or other personnel and do not really qualify as exhaustive research efforts. The works which will be discussed here, while valuable in their own right, fall into this category and cannot be considered full scale research papers. They warrant attention, nonetheless, because they are among the few works which touch on the subject at all.

Helge and Pierce-Jones (1968) reported that 145 Head Start teachers from lower middle class families participated in a preservice workshop. Data were collected from autobiographical and experience forms. Their experience or lack of experience with disadvantaged youth was employed to test three hypotheses related to teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness and acceptance of Head Start; their awareness of the effects of cultural deprivation; and their perceptions of their success as Head Start teachers.

A comparison of Head Start and non-Head Start children from similar environments was employed to evaluate the results. Generally, the more varied the experience, the more stable and positive were the teachers' attitudes regardless of length of teaching experience. Experienced teachers showed greater insight into problem areas and could more easily incorporate new experiences into the teaching-learning situation for disadvantaged youth. The attitudes of both experienced and inexperienced teachers, as well as all youth, were positive.

Buntin (1967) conducted a workshop designed to increase the effectivensss of 42 teachers and supervisors in working with culturally disadvantaged youth in the area of occupational preparation. Psychologists and sociologists directed attention to an understanding of the life styles of the disadvantaged during the first week. Factors such as relevant sociocultural concepts, the culture of poverty, minority group relations, and strategies and alternatives for dealing with the problems of the disadvantaged were studied. During the second week, an attempt was made: 1) to translate the knowledge gained into goals, content, and teaching strategies geared to teaching disadvantaged youth and adults; 2) to set forth basic concepts relative to differential perceptions; 3) to explore effective procedures to stimulate motivation; and 4) to recognize the influence of the emotions and prejudices in understanding and working with the disadvantaged. The workshop was not only judged to have made a contribution in terms of goals, but also in the subjects' increased awareness of the dignity of the individual.

Attitudes of teachers loom large as a factor which could contribute to the development of skills and general classroom behavior of teachers preparing to work with the disadvantaged. Arizona State University (1968) reported on subjects who had previously received training between 1956 and 1966. These teachers were engaged in an educational program which, in part, was designed to change their attitudes to enable them to work better with disadvantaged youth. Subjects were compared with a similar group of teachers who had not been exposed to the educational program. Reports that the in-service educational program did change the attitudes of teachers toward disadvantaged youth, particularly migrant workers, were supported.

The point that counselors must be sensitized to the perspectives of disadvantaged minority group youth and their parents was made by Ratchick (1969). He holds that counselors should understand the fears, aspirations and needs of their counselees. Counselors should have an understanding of social psychology; the cultural contributions of ethnic groups; and his own attitudes, strengths and weaknesses. Moreover, preservice and in-service programs should be reviewed to determine their relevance to the disadvantaged, and applicants for counseling positions should be screened more carefully.

Lockette (1970) believes that efforts spent developing instructional materials and instructional strategies will be ineffective unless a more favorable attitude of teachers toward disadvantaged youth can be developed. He notes that every major study on urban disorders discusses racism as a serious problem and holds that it is unreasonable to assume that teachers are not affected to a greater or lesser degree.

Lockette (1971) reports attempts to change teachers' attitudes in order to enable them to work more effectively with disadvantaged youth by exposing in-service teachers to the agencies and institutions in the community which influence these youth and are in part, responsible for their plight. Subjects observe agencies and institutions under "protected" conditions to relieve them of their fears which are often based on untruths, half-truths, and myths. The goal is to get them to learn that much of what they believe is not true in fact. Moreover, they develop a better understanding of disadvantaged youth and the forces which make it extremely difficult to overcome the conditions which lead to their disadvantagement. The outcome is designed to lead to the internalization of the need for, and more importantly, the exhibition of behavior of real concern and the willingness to exert positive efforts toward working with these youth.

Twenty-four teachers participated in an in-service institute to prepare to work more effectively with disadvantaged youth. In addition, 16 disadvantaged youth were engaged in a demonstration project. The institute was broken down into three highly related phases:

1. Phase one focused attention on the courses and characteristics of cultural deprivation. This phase relied heavily on observation, and where possible, direct experience.
2. Phase two dealt with the observation and discussion of programs which had proven their effectiveness in working with the disadvantaged.

3. Phase three focused on developing instructional materials and strategies for working with the disadvantaged which take into account the known characteristics of the disadvantaged.

The pattern of responses on the Modified Felt Figure Technique were significantly beyond .05 level of confidence. Subject evaluation of the institute and disadvantaged students evaluation to the institute were highly positive.

Among those concerned with the need to find better ways to serve the disadvantaged student is Riessman (1968) who believes that teaching techniques should be geared to the learning style of disadvantaged students. He holds that, generally, disadvantaged youth must be convinced that they can learn without becoming middle class stereotypes. They must be convinced that they can retain their identity. He believes that a career ladder program would allow inexperienced and untrained people to assume routine tasks and free teachers for more creative roles. Further, the recruitment of classroom aides would provide male role models for reinforcement and assurance that the disadvantaged can succeed in the system.

Giammatteo (1967) discusses the philosophy, training, and task of the parent educator as a member of the health team in a multidisciplinary, comprehensive program which focuses on the total health needs of the central city. The objectives of such a program are to reduce the critical shortage in health manpower through on-the-job training of health assistants, to demonstrate that the indigenous peer group can function as an important part of the health team, to show how the indigenous health worker can assist in coordinating health services, to provide occupational opportunities for the unskilled and unemployed, to show the use of indigenous health assistants as effective liaision between the health service and the community, to encourage the widespread use of this approach, and to develop a corps of professionals in the application of this approach.

Action Housing Incorporated (1966) was prepared to evaluate a one-year demonstration project designed to test the effects of using volunteer neighborhood counselors to assist unemployed youngsters in job training programs. The volunteers acted as assistants to the program's professional staff and participated in the interviewing, recruitment, and counseling of trainees. The results showed that the women volunteers were more successful than men in counseling activities. Those volunteers who were married, had held steady jobs, and had participated in other community volunteer work made the most effective counselors.

EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH EFFORT RELATED TO THE DISADVANTAGED

The review of characteristics of disadvantaged youth and adults suggests that a considerable amout of work has been done in this area. In addition, there is fairly general agreement with regard to the characteristics which identify persons who fall in this category. It is true that all researchers do not consider identical characteristics important. Clarke (1966) lists factors such as educational traditions, poor language and reading skills, poor motivation, poor self-esteem, antagonism toward school, antagonism toward authority, poor health, diet, and an unstable home. Boykin (1969) considers such characteristics as family income, occupational and educational aspirations, percentage who aspire to attend two-year or four-year colleges, comparisons of aspirations with financial resources, and aspirations of mothers for their children. Despite the fact that these and other authors approach these characteristics differently, and, indeed, their lists are not identical, they are consistent and noncontradictory in their relationship with each other. Therefore, an analysis of the literature which describes disadvantaged youth and adults should prove most helpful to applied researchers and practitioners who are engaged in research and developmental projects.

Although there is general agreement with regard to disadvantaged youth and adults, and data are readily available in the literature, applied research and developmental efforts fail to devote sufficient attention to the characteristics of the disadvantaged in designing and conducting programs. Many efforts which are based on some of the characteristics fail to deal with a sufficient number of them to have any real effect. Based on these findings, it seems clear that programs will have to devote attention to a greater number of the factors which lead to disadvantagement if they are to be effective. Radin (1967) supports the notion that a massive effort which deals with a complex of factors at the cultural, social organizational, primary, and individual levels will be required to remove the deficiencies of the disadvantaged.

A great deal of the major research which would contribute to the development of effective vocational education programs has been conducted by individuals in other fields, economists, sociologists, psychologists, industrial relations experts, and social workers are among them. Although these works are available, they are either not well known to vocational education researchers or they are disregarded in designing research and development projects for the disadvantaged.

Vocational educators initiated an interdisciplinary approach to the problems in vocational education immediately after the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Economists, sociologists, psychologists and representatives of other related fields were invited to meet with vocational educators in an attempt to reorient and make programs in this field more meaningful.

However, vocational educators tended to ask the wrong question. They asked how can we utilize your discipline to improve the vocational education program? The reply was most often, here is what my disci-

pline is all about; however, you will have to determine the use to which you can put it—vocational education is your business.

The problems which plague the disadvantaged are studied in many disciplines, including economics, sociology, psychology, and vocational education. It is unlikely that researchers in any one of them will have the background to impact on the disadvantaged without unselfish team efforts. To accomplish this, vocational educators should outline the objectives of vocational education, and describe the state of the art as well as tentative program plans. After this, the question should be: do you see problems that those in vocational education do not see? How can your discipline contribute to their solution?

The literature on public school vocational education programs concentrates on studies of individual projects and has failed to contribute to a national data base on vocational education in general, and vocational education for the disadvantaged in particular. Bushnell (1970) presented promising findings on student feedback and its help in improving the teaching-learning situation. These data deal with the Philadelphia School System but are not necessarily generalizable on a national scale. The Massachusetts State Board of Education (1969) found that the most successful vocational education programs for the disadvantaged were found outside of the public school systems. One of the implications of this finding related to the data which has been provided to the Labor Department through its Manpower Programs—both its successful and its unsuccessful ones. These data can be drawn upon for a number of purposes, such as determining successful practices employed, examining priorities, seeking funds from Congress, identifying individual and group needs, and providing a host of other information which would be of value in working with the disadvantaged.

Social, Educational Research and Development, Inc. (1968) supports the need for a data base on public vocational education programs. Their study found a critical lack of evaluation data on vocational education programs designed to serve the disadvantaged. Planning at the national, state and local levels requires the use of accurate and current data. Those charged with planning individual vocational programs in vocational and comprehensive secondary school programs, as well as community colleges, likewise need to draw from an up-to-date data base. One of the serious problems which faces planning efforts at all levels is the absence of a systematically developed data base. This fact critically impedes the development of meaningful programs of vocational education for the disadvantaged.

Research on out-of-school vocational education programs is in greater abundance when compared with that for in-school programs. These programs have provided a store of knowledge upon which vocational educators can draw. The knowledge accumulated has in large measure led to the comparative success of programs for out-of-school disadvantaged persons. This position is supported by the findings of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1969) which holds that the most successful programs are those for out-of-school youth and adults.

Sharar (1969) and Vermeulen (1968) state that one of the strong as-

pects of out-of-school programs relates to their high placement record while Kaufman and Lewis (1968) show that fewer than 50 percent of in-school trainees were placed in jobs of any type. This implies that in-school vocational education programs must not only work with individuals in preparing them to work, but must either develop placement services or work with other agencies in this and other areas. The Philadelphia Manpower Utilization Commission (1969) found that pre-orientation in family services through counseling increased trainees' chances of completing MDTA training and placement record.

It has been shown that in involvement of the community in vocational education programs for the disadvantaged greatly increases the completion and placement rates of both in-school and out-of-school trainees. The Opportunity Industrialization Center's work in this connection might well serve as a model (Ritter, 1970). Evidence supports the idea that the impressive number of follow-up studies on trainees has aided in redirecting out-of-school programs.

There exists a need for in-school programs to establish extensive follow-up procedures which closely parallel those employed in out-of-school programs. This would lead to improvements in vocational education programs for the disadvantaged as these data are gathered and analyzed.

The literature clearly indicates that the number of teachers working with the disadvantaged in vocational education has shown a marked increase. However, the research and development efforts do not show how vocational education personnel are prepared to work with the disadvantaged, or whether or not t ey are successful in working with them. Moreover, the literature fails to show the effectiveness of the marked increase of teachers prepared to work with the disadvantaged noted earlier (U.S. Office of Education). The work which has been done in attempting to change teachers' attitudes is encouraging. Additional studies along this line may prove to be most helpful. A major research and developmental effort is badly needed to develop procedures which are effective in preparing personnel to work with the disadvantaged.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

The review of the literature indicated a critical lack of meaningful data available on occupational education for the urban disadvantaged. This lack is particularly noticeable in the areas of public school vocational education programs, national surveys, teacher preparation, student follow-up studies, and structured evaluations. This section will discuss some of the problems encountered in the research available and will offer several observations and suggested means of improving vocational education programs for the urban disadvantaged.

Observation 1: There is research on vocational education and there is research on the disadvantaged; there is a critical lack of research, however, relating the two. The studies which do exist tend to define vocational education as skill training and concentrate on nonpublic-school programs, rather than on those administered under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. In the same way, the studies on the disadvantaged treat the entire spectrum of the disadvantaged and rarely focus on the unique problems of the urban disadvantaged. As a result, the number of studies using the title, "Vocational Education for the Disadvantaged" is misleading to those specifically interested in public school vocational preparation for urban disadvantaged.

Observation 2: Most of the available research on vocational education for the urban disadvantaged can be divided into four major categories:

1. Characteristics of the Disadvantaged;
2. Public School Vocational Education Programs;
3. Out-of-School Skill Training Programs; and,
4. Teacher Education and Ancillary Personnel.

Definition of "Disadvantaged"

In reviewing the literature for this report, it became obvious that one of the major problems lies in the fact that there is not a standard definition of what constitutes the disadvantaged. This fact leads to a number of serious difficulties in carrying out research on the impact of vocational education programs for the disadvantaged:

1. The Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 define disadvantaged in terms of a student's ability to succeed in a regular vocational program. Neither the legislation nor the Rules and Regulations, however, offer any standard measure of what constitutes ability to succeed in a regular program. This situation makes any type of comparative analysis between states or programs extremely difficult. State "A" may define disadvantaged as the inability to achieve a score of 80 on a standardized test, for example, while State "B" may define disadvantagement as the ability to achieve a score of 50 on that same test. In a comparative study of vocational

education for the disadvantaged in States "A" and "B," State "A" would almost certainly show greater success in terms of job placement, employer satisfaction and other important criteria. This success would be largely attributable to the fact that State "A" has filled its programs for the disadvantaged with students of inherently superior ability than those in programs for the disadvantaged in State "B," and would tell little if anything about the relative merits of the teaching, curriculum, and other factors in the programs in the two States. Only when both States are required to employ the same standards in defining the disadvantaged will comparative studies of this nature be feasible.

2. The definition of disadvantaged used in the Vocation Education Amendments of 1968 does not coincide with the economic definition used in other federal legislation. This means that research conducted by other government agencies, or funded by other federal legislation, may not be directly transferable to vocational education. Given the limited funds available for research, it is particularly distressing that a legislative definition should serve as an obstacle to coordinating and pooling resources.
3. Most researchers employ the definition of disadvantaged more commonly employed in the literature (Lockette, 1966) than that incorporated in the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. The fact that the more common interpretations of disadvantaged include groups which do not necessarily qualify as disadvantaged, as defined by the federal legislation, constitutes one of the most serious drawbacks in interpreting the literature. While the existing research may be valuable in its own right, it can in no way be interpreted as an evaluation of the success or failure of federal or state vocational education programs unless the definition is commonly used in research efforts. The definition and objectives in the Vocational Education Amendments may well need revision. However, as long as they are based on the ability to succeed in regular vocational programs, researchers must use this standard if they hope to achieve any accurate picture of the impact of vocational education on the urban disadvantaged.

Observation 3: Among the studies related to vocational education for the urban disadvantaged which exist, there is considerable duplication of data. For every one study, for example, there are many others presenting approximately the same information. This means that the researcher should not take the number of works available as an indication of how complete the data on the subject are.

The literature reviewed for this report brought to light the need for national data, in addition to local data. Local studies are valuable but they may be in terms of national applicability. Factors such as geography, race, definition of disadvantaged, income level and the employment situation in the area in which the study is done may limit the results and reduce their generalizability to other areas.

There is a tremendous need for researchers to improve their techniques by incorporating those techniques employed in other disciplines. This would lead to an increased level of sophistication of the research effort. In addition, research which has greater generalizability should be undertaken.

Due to the late funding of those portions of the 1968 Amendments which would make possible program elements administered under the legislation, few such studies were found as of the publication date of this report. The majority of the studies are pre-1970 and more accurately reflect the situation prior to the implementation of the 1968 legislation. This serious shortage of current material on vocational education for the urban disadvantaged may be eased as studies which hopefully are underway reach completion and become available. The reader should remain alert to the future publication of these and other research efforts which may be more specifically designed to assess the impact of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968.

Observation 4: Of primary importance in improving the quality of research related to vocational education for the urban disadvantaged is the more extensive use of control groups. In contrast to the use of control groups in manpower studies, the majority of the reports on public school vocational education programs concentrate exclusively on the follow-up of students who have participated in the programs. Without use of control groups, such follow-up information is of little value. It means little to say that of 1,000 disadvantaged students who entered a vocational education program, 800 were employed upon graduation, unless a comparable group is used as a control. Only if the employment rate for those graduating from vocational education programs is significantly higher than those in the control group can there be reason to infer that the vocational education program may be a factor in securing employment. Until studies employing such comparable groups are used to evaluate vocational education programs, there will be little meaningful information on the impact of programs of disadvantaged students.

Observation 5: Many of the problems found in the research on vocational education for the urban disadvantaged can be attributed to a lack of adequate funds for conducting major studies. For example, studies dealing with local programs abound because they are relatively inexpensive and can be performed by states, individual researchers or institutions. These same researchers and institutes, however, simply do not have the resources to undertake the costly national evaluation efforts which are desperately needed. As a result, any such national efforts must be funded by the federal government.

In fiscal 1971, $17,874,872 was appropriated for all vocational education research by the federal government. Only a small portion of that sum was spent on research on vocational education for the disadvantaged, and considerably less went exclusively for research on the urban disadvantaged. Because of the severe limitations on the funds available at the federal level, a greater proportion of these resources should be used for studies

with national implications which cannot reasonably be undertaken by the states or individual researchers or institutions. Increasing federal funds will assist in providing the resources needed to carry out national evaluations. In addition, efforts should be made to increase the present level of funding for research on the disadvantaged. If the Congress saw fit to include a special fund set aside for vocational education for the disadvantaged in the 1968 legislation, it should be willing to allocate the funds necessary for needed research efforts.

Some of the types of information having national applicability which could be gathered and have widespread use in improving vocational education programs include:

For each attendance area

a. number of disadvantaged persons of school age.
b. number of disadvantaged persons enrolled in school.
c. number of disadvantaged perons enrolled in vocational education.

For each school in each attendance area

a. number of disadvantaged in school.
b. number of disadvantaged in vocational education programs.
c. number of disadvantaged in class of 1970.
d. number of disadvantaged graduated in 1970.
   (1) number going on to further education (specify four-year, two-year college or other post-secondary institution).
   (2) number enrolled in post-secondary institutions at beginning of second year.
e. number of disadvantaged graduated in 1970 who were enrolled in vocational education.
f. number of disadvantaged graduated in 1970 who completed vocational education program.
   (1) number employed in field for which trained within six months of graduation; in related field; in unrelated field; employer satisfaction in each case.
   (2) number employed for at least a year; in field for which trained; in related field, mean number of jobs held during year; mean starting salary.

What is of paramount importance in any research effort in this area, however, is that the results not be left sitting on a library shelf. Research for the sake of research is a luxury which vocational education cannot afford. Research in vocational education must be a beginning, not an end in itself; for, it is only when the research is translated into new approaches to vocational education through experimental and demonstration projects, or general program revisions, that the effort and expense which have gone into it can be justified and rewarded.

g. The information in the above items should also be gathered for two different control groups: disadvantaged students not enrolled

in vocational education and not going on to further education upon graduation; and disadvantaged students who dropped out of school or did not graduate.

h. number of disadvantaged students who completed vocational education programs but were not employed during first year after graduation.
   (1) number who sought employment in the field for which trained.
   (2) number refused employment in field for which trained; reason for refusal (no available jobs; not qualified; union problems; etc.)
   (3) number who did not seek employment in field for which trained; reason (higher salary in other fields, lack of interest in field, did not seek employment in any field, etc.)

i. number of disadvantaged students who dropped out of vocational education programs.
   (1) number continuing in same school in different program.
   (2) number continuing education elsewhere.
   (3) number leaving school completely.
   (4) reasons for dropping out.
   (5) number securing full-time employment; mean starting salary.

j. How have career education programs been modified to serve the disadvantaged? (Curriculum made more relevant, more work orientation, teacher training, etc.)

k. What special training has been given to teachers and ancillary personnel to prepare them to meet the special needs of the urban disadvantaged? (Sensitivity training, experience in disadvantaged neighborhoods, etc.) What evidence is there that this training has been of value in cost/benefit terms? (Follow-up of specially trained teachers and ancillary personnel compared with control group of teachers and ancillary personnel without such training)

l. Are there special recruitment programs to serve the disadvantaged? If so, what form do they take?

m. Are there special arrangements with employers for job placement of disadvantaged students?

n. In what other ways have funds earmarked for the disadvantaged been used? How has research data been utilized in determining how these funds would most effectively be invested?

These are only a few of the questions which could be investigated by use of a sample of school attendance areas to effectively assess the impact of vocational education for the urban disadvantaged on a national level. Many other questions could be asked and many other methods of investigation could be used effectively.

IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS IN DEVELOPING AND OPERATING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

The number of problems which face the disadvantaged are numerous and varied, as has been noted throughout this report. Many of the factors which deter the disadvantaged from entering into educational programs and employment opportunities are interrelated. Accordingly, the treatment of a single or a limited number of these factors is of little or no value in improving preparation for work. In fact, limited attention to the factors which handicap the disadvantaged results in their losing confidence in the programs which are inadequately designed to meet their needs. Vocational programs which are designed to prepare the disadvantaged for work, therefore, must provide the means of accommodating the successful practices and the recommendations consistent with research and developmental efforts. Considerations which should be given high priority in vocational programs are presented below:

1. The philosophy of the vocational education program must be founded in meeting the needs of those it serves, and the individuals and groups served by the program must perceive it as meeting their needs.
2. The vocational education program must be functionally rooted in the community. This calls for meaningful involvement of community representatives at every level of planning and implementation.
3. An overall advisory committee should be established with a membership representative of the businesses, industries, health services, and other institutions and agencies which vocational education serves. Institutions and agencies which relate to and have implications for vocational education should likewise be included. Finally, a number of laymen from the community served by the vocational program should be included to facilitate communication between other members of the advisory committee and the community at large.
4. Craft committees should be employed in each vocational education program area. Persons who are thoroughly familiar with current skills and technical requirements, as well as trends in the occupational area, should be selected.
5. The attitudes of teachers and other professional personnel should be treated in such a way as to enable them to understand the disadvantaged. This will cause them to modify their behavior and to be more effective in working with the disadvantaged.
6. Teachers should be given specific preparation in integrating into the vocational education courses the content of different fields such as English, Mathematics, Sciences, and Reading. They should be given support in this process, and they should be supported in perfecting techniques in applying content so organized.

7. The use of differentiated staffing is badly needed. Persons who are indigenous to the community will be extremely helpful as members of the staff.
8. New and innovative recruitment efforts which are effective in attracting the disadvantaged should be adopted and/or developed.
9. Vocational education programs for the disadvantaged must be geared to provide preparation for work in the shortest time possible. The operational goals of the programs and the preparation for work must meet the needs of the persons served.
10. A systematic orientation program should be developed to clarify the nature of work, the value and outcome of work, and the total operation of the training and placement of graduates on jobs.
11. Effective counseling services are essential. The total vocational program should have established relationships with institutions and agencies as health services, welfare services, child day care centers, and employment services which offer assistance in areas of disadvantaged persons' needs. This will enable the counselors to be more helpful in working with students. As counselors become truly helpful, students will perceive the total program in a more positive light.
12. Vocational education programs for the disadvantaged should be flexible and quickly responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged as viewed by them. The best match possible should be made between the occupational aspirations and skills of the disadvantaged and available jobs. Where indicated, jobs should be developed to accommodate these individuals. Moreover, career ladders should be developed to enable them to gain access to advanced positions as their aspirations and preparation suggest.
13. Content should be structured into instructional modules. Only those modules which will lead to job preparedness should be employed in any given case.
14. The application of techniques which will result in the disadvantaged changing their self concept are essential to their success.
15. Cooperative education experience should be employed as a supplement to vocational education programs to the greatest extent possible.
16. Course content and activities should be exciting and relevant to the students' occupational goals.
17. Instruction should be individualized to the highest degree possible.
18. Basic education should be closely related to job preparation, and the relationship should be made known to, and be understood by, the students.
19. Relationships should be established with employers to encourage them to provide the support for disadvantaged graduates of vocational programs which is needed to assure occupational adjustment.

Certainly the specifics to which vocational educators must address attention in working with the disadvantaged have not been exhausted. However, a number of the solutions to the vocational education problems associated with the urban disadvantaged have been advanced and are available. The success of vocational education programs focused on the urban disadvantaged will depend on their judicious implementation.

APPENDIX

The socially disadvantaged child was described in terms of family, personal and social characteristics by Havighurst (1964).

1. Family characteristics:
   (a) The absence of family conversation which fosters verbal expression results in the limited development of verbal skills.
   (b) The family environment lacks reading materials and other objects that foster learning. The home background is not conducive to intellectual stimulation.
   (c) The family does not provide a model for developing an appreciation for reading as an activity. The cultural factors and underlying lower socioeconomic group values preclude the family's undertaking the reading activity.

Havighurst indicates that of the two language forms, restricted and elaborated, the culturally disadvantaged child usually employs the former which is simple, repetitive, disconnected, limited word modifiers, and frequently colloquial. Such a child is more likely to experience difficulty in school where elaborated language is used, taught, and valued.

2. Personal characteristics:
   (a) Impaired auditory and visual discrimination.
   (b) Less than adequate judgment of numbers, basic concepts and time, due to inferior physical, mental and social well-being.
   (c) Lack of concern about surroundings and speech of others.

3. Social characteristics:
   (a) Low position of family on income scale.
   (b) Non-urban background.
   (c) Oppressed and discriminated against by the higher status majority.
   (d) Scattered widely except in high income areas, such as suburbia.

If the foregoing characterizations are to be accepted, it follows then that the problems confronting the disadvantaged youth tend to extend their disadvantage and limit their access to the ingredients for class mobility. The disadvantaged must cope with inadequate housing, unemployability, low income, undignified and disrespectful treatment. Clift (1964) points out that disadvantaged people are forced to live in deteriorating slum neighborhoods beset by crime, tension, frustration and infectious ignorance.

According to Clift the culturally deprived child:

> ...cannot escape the slums easily. Schools in slum areas do not prepare white collar workers, low family incomes will not provide equality of opportunity for children. All too often culturally deprived children have little to give them a sense of aspira-

tion or direction. They have few models to follow which give them reason to assume that education offers a way out of the slums.

Such observations should not legitimatize the belief that these children are less capable of learning than others.

In considering the relationship between social expectations and cultural deprivation, Hines (1964) interpreted the forces which affect the behavior of a culturally deprived group. He states that:

> ...In a society in which mental inferiority, laziness, incompetency, and irresponsibility are part of the definition externally assigned to a group...the group so defined will tend to confirm this definition. Confirmation does not come automatically or unassisted. In the first place, the general society sets in motion certain kinds of institutional and cultural forces which reinforce, perpetuate and circulate expectations consistent with this definition. Secondly, the society will reward that behavior which conforms to these expectations and punish that which deviates.

The socially learned beliefs and attitudes of the majority form the criteria for defining a minority. Self evaluation based on such criteria results in the seeming acceptance by the minority of degraded status. Such acceptance influences the motivation, behavior, and aspirations of those assigned the inferior status. They conform to behavioral expectations for the inferior group, because they are taught to believe that they can never expect a higher level of cultural recognition. In turn, the motivation to learn skills required for personal advancement and career mobility is lacking. Life's chances tend to be evaluated in terms of social expectations.

Educators have been attempting to isolate important characteristics of the disadvantaged to which the school should direct attention. Hamilton (1967) studied characteristics of students and vocational education problems related to serving youth with special needs in non-Metropolitan Ohio high schools. One hundred and fifty-four ninth grade youths with special needs were compared with 169 other ninth grade students. Statistical procedures were employed to determine the relationship and differences between the groups. It was found that:

> ...One out of seven ninth grade youth was judged to have special educational needs; disadvantaged boys outnumbered girls by a ratio of three to two; very few students were considered ethnically disadvantaged or physically handicapped; ninth grade youth with special needs came from large families, their parents achieved low occupational educational levels, and there were more broken homes than the comparison group; the special needs group made lower grades, were absent more often, had lower intelligence test scores, were poorer readers, and had lower occupational and educational aspirations than did the group with whom they were compared; finally, no significant differences were discovered in terms of race, place of origin, or whether or not the mother worked away from home.

Davidson (1962) studied the relative good and poor achievements of subjects from deprived backgrounds in an attempt to determine similarities and differences in personalities of these groups. Subjects were selected based on achievement test scores rather than estimates of I. Q. Measures were taken of cognitive factors; personality factors; divergent thinking; ability to determine relationships and organize; creativity; attitudes toward family, teacher, self, and school. She found that good achievers from deprived backgrounds tend to be controlled, cautious, creative, and viewed authority figures positively. They are self-confident, analytical, possess organizational ability and perform well in verbal ability, attention and memory. By contrast, poor achievers are plaqued by fear, anxiety, lack of self-confidence and impulsiveness. They express anxiety by engaging in excessive talking.

Along this line Campbell (1969) has done a study on the vocational perceptions and expectations of disadvantaged junior high school students as compared with a control group of non-disadvantaged students, and the difference between the two groups did not show up as frequently as had been expected.

Boykin (1969) assessed the educational and occupational aspirations, aptitudes and preferences of male Negro youth in the Mississippi Delta region. His sample included 197 rural and 380 urban twelfth grade students from 12 high schools in 11 countries having a majority of Negro youth. He found that 70 percent of the families represented by the students had incomes less than $3,000 per year; the occupational and educational aspirations of urban youth were higher than those of rural youth; while 29 percent aspired to a four-year college education, two-thirds of that 29 percent or 110 urban students did not have financial support; few aspired to a two-year terminal degree; the mother was the most influential in affecting educational goals; urban youth had higher aptitude scores; there was a serious lack of occupational information available to students.

Another important work in this area was conducted by Thurston (1964) who studied aggression in relation to sex, grade, and urban-rural status. He found that both urban and rural disadvantaged students show a higher than average incidence of:

> Antisocial behavior in the classroom; argumentative dispositions; low or average intelligence; low opinion of adults; and rejection of parents.

The similarity in the characteristics of the disadvantaged regardless of ethnic background is consistent with the theoretical position of Havighurst (1964) and Ausubel (1963) noted earlier.

Skrabanek and Rapton (1966) studied changes in occupational patterns taking place in selected Spanish American populations. They also studied the levels of living, income, education, and aspirations of parents for their children. They found a steady and increasing shift from agricultural occupations to service occupations. They found also a slower shift to professional occupations. Spanish-Americans lagged far behind the general population in standards of living, educational achievement and in-

come. In addition, the difference between rural and urban Spanish-Americans was even more pronounced.

Herman and Sadofsky (1967) studied Neighborhood Youth Corps trainee job seekers to determine their self-image, work attitudes, social and psychological background. Six hundred and one job seekers, whose ages ranged from 16-21 years, were selected from HAR-YOU Center and John F. Kennedy JOIN Center to provide data on Negro youths. Comparative data were collected from three control samples; 260 male juniors and seniors from a highly white populated college; 196 male freshman and sophomores at a highly Negro populated college; and 442 male freshmen at a predominantly white college.

Disadvantaged Negro youth were aware of the deficiencies in their educational and vocational preparation and were seeking ways to remove these deficiencies. They did believe that the New York Public School System would be helpful to them. Work was a means of survival and something of intrinsic interest or value to them.

As compared with white and middle-class Negro youths they exhibited low self-esteem and this inhibited their ability to seek and hold jobs, destroyed their commitment to work, and destroyed their occupational aspirations and life goals. These conditions led to despair, apathy and surrender.

A curriculum designed to meet the educational needs of disadvantaged students was undertaken by Clarke (1966). Special attention was focused on the effects of deprivation on aspiration, values, motivation, and self concept. She holds that students need to develop positive feelings of worth, values compatible with the general society, and manipulative, cognitive and social skills essential to the fulfillment of their aspirations. Good programs encourage change by focusing on what can be done within the context of the students' background. Factors which influence disadvantaged students include: the lack of educational tradition, poor language and reading skills, poor motivation, poor self-esteem, antagonism toward school, antagonism toward authority, poor health, diet, and an unstable home.

To improve their self image and stimulate motivation, programs must give students an opportunity to experience success in learning; yet, the learning tasks must be sufficiently challenging to gradually raise their levels of aspiration to more acceptable levels.

In studying the problems of training the hard-core unemployed, Pallone (1965) established conditions which provided a background in basic skills, favorable attitudes toward work, and vocational preparation. One hundred and eight trainees entered the program and at the end of a 20-week period, test results suggested the readiness to enter vocational preparation for some, and the need for continued basic education for others. Some of the findings reported were: the large majority of the hard-core unemployed are educationally, rather than mentally disadvantaged; existing instruments, such as the California Test of Mental Maturity and the the G Score (Learning Ability) of the General Aptitude Test Battery, are inadequate to estimate the learning potential of the hard-core unemployed; sex differences seemed more pronounced than race differences;

the hard-core unemployed progressed from one to three years in a 20-week period of instruction and subjects showed improvement in educational aptitudes, estimated mental ability, and social behavior traits at the end of the study.

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